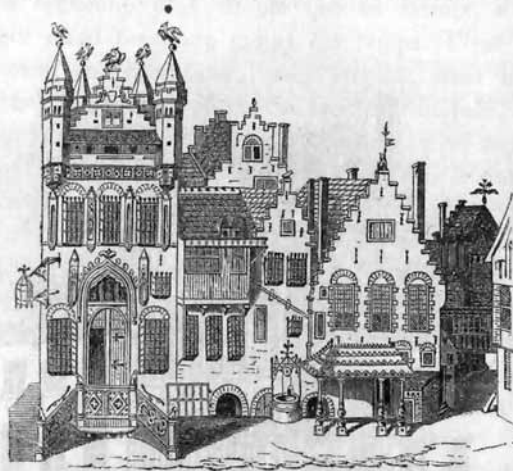


ouvrage. Nous ajouterons, comme complément, le dessin de la façade de l'ancien hôtel-de-ville d'Anvers, démoli en 1564, non pour la beauté mais pour



l'originalité de son architecture, qui paraissait se rapporter à la seconde moitié du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle, car on manque de renseignements sur l'époque de la construction de cet édifice <sup>1</sup>.

Les corps de métiers possédaient jadis des édifices qui servaient à leurs réunions, où se conservaient leurs archives et où se traitaient toutes les affaires relatives à la corporation. Un grand nombre de ces bâtiments furent élevés ou reconstruits avec

<sup>1</sup> MERTENS EN TORFS, *Geschied. van Antw.*, t. I, p. 311.

Notre dessin est une copie réduite de la planche gravée par H. Causé d'après un tableau de Mostart. Il donne une idée de l'aspect de la Grande Place d'Anvers au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le vilain bâtiment à pignon à droite de l'hôtel-de-ville était la halle aux draps.

An Excellent Work of Transition on National Architectural History. The Illustrations of A.G.B. Schayes' *Histoire de l'Architecture en Belgique* (1849-1853)

## Introduction

*On n'avait guère songé, avant 1830, à illustrer les livres.* 'Before 1830 we hardly dreamed of illustrating books.'<sup>1</sup> This remembers, in 1857, Georges Duplessis (1834-1899), member of the French *Académie des Beaux-Arts*, director and curator of the *Cabinet des Estampes* of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, and noted collector of engravings. 1830 is here named the pivotal year of European book illustration, a virtual birth year for our contemporary 'image culture'. In this same year, which witnesses a true revolution in the art of illustrated printing, the new state of Belgium is declared – a coincidence that proves remarkably rich in detail.

During Europe's development towards industrialisation, the general framework was Reality. Empiricism, presenting itself as a rational instrument, demanded the connection of the procurement and the distribution of knowledge old and new. This meant that the book, as printed knowledge, in text and especially in image, gained much significance. Modern Europe focused on the visible, verifiable reality and therefore illustrated its printed matter abundantly.<sup>2</sup> The image, as illustration, became a vital instrument of science and quickly changing technologies. In the process, illustrations changed the appearance of books through their 'scientification' and application. The most notable examples are illustrated Encyclopaedias<sup>3</sup> and novels, which gained great popularity. As the circulation of books and periodicals increased, image became a more powerful carrier of meaning than text, both for the less literate new bourgeoisie and the nearly illiterate yet evermore self-conscious proletariat. Books were no longer intended solely for bibliophiles and the well-off, and they were therefore expected to be not just communicative and richly illustrated but also affordable.<sup>4</sup>

Our case study is Antoine G.B. Schayes' (1808-1859)<sup>5</sup> *Histoire de l'architecture en Belgique* published from 1849-1852<sup>6</sup> by Alexandre Jamar in Brussels and printed by Joseph Ernest Buschmann (1814-1853)<sup>7</sup> in Antwerp. This is the first full and consistent publication on Belgian architectural history, and it exemplifies how the nineteenth-century book and its illustration material developed alongside the human sciences within conditions set by a nation creating its identity. We would like to show in how the genesis and appearance of this work bears, in all its aspects, the signs of its time and place, that is, mid-nineteenth-century Brussels, the capital of young Belgium.<sup>8</sup> Schayes, a historian specializing in architectural historiography, took on the challenge of presenting the results of his study in a format that conformed to the various demands of his day. Our brief clarification will focus on the issue of the illustrated book.

## Young Belgium and the book

When we consider the attitude of the new state on the question of books, we see that immediately extensive legitimating efforts were launched to retrace, describe, and publish the rich artistic and architectural past. Stimulating research, valorising the results in publications, and encouraging the public to read them constituted a sizeable task for the state. National institutes, both new and re-established, and publishers became engaged in the undertaking as stimulators.

Around 1830, during this same period, the art of printing underwent a historical transition, as new developments in reproduction techniques allowed for easier and cheaper book illustrations and for lower book prices.<sup>9</sup> This is called, not without reason, the second revolution of printing.<sup>10</sup>

The democratisation of the book and the increasing public demand for illustrations paralleled the invention and development of new types of images. The better publishing and printing houses constantly adapted their technical infrastructure and choice of publications to trends. The Brussels-based publishing house Jamar and the Buschmann printing house<sup>11</sup> in Antwerp are important examples for Belgium.

The reign of Willem I of the Netherlands (1815-1840) prior to Belgian independence created a favourable climate for Brussels printing houses.<sup>12</sup> The liberal regime made it possible for books that had been banned in France or elsewhere to be printed in Brussels: these were so-called *overprints*. *Overprint* or *contrefaçon* refers to publication of either an unpublished work or of an already published work without copyright.<sup>13</sup> This activity generated international contacts<sup>14</sup> and movement towards commercialism. At the time Belgium was an international pivot in the trade of overprints of French books, and many new ventures capitalised on this. The economic growth experienced between 1831 and 1846 likewise stemmed from progress in the typographic industry and in quality of materials. The number of letter foundries and paper factories increased, yet few originally Belgian works were published in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>15</sup> This situation was changed via much effort from 1830 onwards.

Shortly after 1830 many small literary societies were established that concentrated on advancing the publishing and reading of illustrated books. Publishers and fellowships were, in general, an enhancing factor in the reading culture of the period. The *Société Encyclographique pour les Sciences Médicales* was established in 1837 for encyclopaedia and scientific books within the medical sector.<sup>16</sup> In the same year the short-lived *Société Nationale pour la propagation des bons livres* was founded. Its members concentrated primarily on the propagation of illustrated works in the fields of education and upbringing. Its existence was based on the overprinting of instructive and pious readings.<sup>17</sup> In the publications

of the *Société des Beaux-Arts*, which operated from 1838, lithography reached a climax. The *Société des Beaux-Arts* was also active in the fields of copper, tin, steel, stone, and wood engraving; in relief (i.e., high) print as well as in intaglio (i.e., deep) print and planographic (i.e., flat) print; and in figure casting and moulding. In short, it was a laboratory for techniques applied in the graphic arts. The *Société des Beaux-Arts* often collaborated with the *Société Nationale pour la propagation des bons livres* on illustrations and on a financial level for certain publications. Both societies can be situated in the context of renewed interest in Catholicism. During this same time the *Association Nationale pour favoriser les Arts en Belgique*<sup>18</sup> emerged under the patronage of the *Société des Beaux-Arts*. Their periodical *La Renaissance* appeared between 1839 and 1854 and, as its name suggests, was situated within liberal rather than Catholic circles. The periodical was regularly illustrated primarily with lithographies and wood engravings, as well as with experiments in mezzotint and chromolithography.<sup>19</sup> These became typical printmaking techniques of cultural periodicals during the first half of the nineteenth century. The little known *Société pour l'émancipation intellectuelle* is interesting to mention in relation to the *L'Histoire de l'architecture en Belgique*, as Schayes was the group's secretary and Alexandre Jamar the *éditeur-administrateur*.<sup>20</sup> Most of these societies enjoyed the support of the Belgian National Bank and thus also the support of the Belgian State.<sup>21</sup>

### The illustrations of Schayes' *Histoire de l'architecture*

The first edition of Schayes' *Histoire de l'architecture* was published in four volumes, the second edition in two. The contents of both editions were identical, save for an addition to the latter of an update over the most recent period. As mentioned, the volumes appeared between 1848 and 1853.

Schayes' architectural historical work lies within the broad sphere of the "archaeological movement", in which architectural history should be considered as a general historical interest in architecture.<sup>22</sup> This, along with nationalist tendencies, is the background for publications of this type until about 1860, after which professionalism and segmentation can be said to take over.

Schayes' books are the fruit of his research in preparation for the essay competitions<sup>23</sup> of the *Académie royale des sciences des lettres et des beaux-arts*,<sup>24</sup> which were motivated by Belgium's emerging national ambitions. Although the *Académie* was not a publishing operation, the publication of Schayes' work was realised within its network and in accordance with its objectives.

The result of Schayes' research is impressive. He treats the history of architecture on Belgium's territory chronologically and, within the chronological frame-

work, typologically (according to the type of building), from the time of the Celts to around 1850.

Holding the books, what is immediately evident is their format of (110mm by 176mm). This small format is related to the public of popular literature, and can be seen as reminiscent of the German *Taschenbuch*.<sup>25</sup> Upon opening the book one encounters a series of signed wood-engravings in the picturesque tradition (Figure 19). These illustrations show prominent buildings that Schayes dedicates further attention to later on. An important aspect of these illustrations is that, in contrast to others, they are independent of the text. The integration of the other

illustrations within the body of text is such that no further means of identification is required. The illustrations, with few exceptions, carry no captions; the layout makes it superfluous.

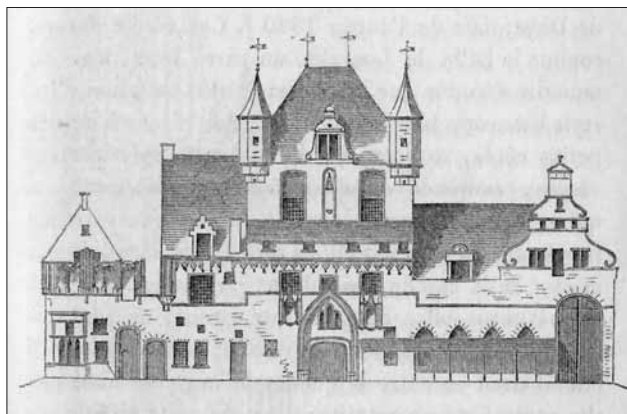
The printmaking technique here is that of wood engraving.<sup>26</sup> The most important advantage of this technique is that it is the only illustration technique belonging to the family of relief prints, the same as letterpress printing. This implies that text and illustration can be printed in one movement, which naturally makes the printing process significantly quicker and cheaper.

Most of the in-text illustrations are elevations and perspective views<sup>27</sup> (Figure 20-21), and there are a significant number of architectural and ornamental details (Figure 22-23-24). The reader is confronted with remarkably diverse illustration materials in both the types of representation and the quality of the engravings: drawings

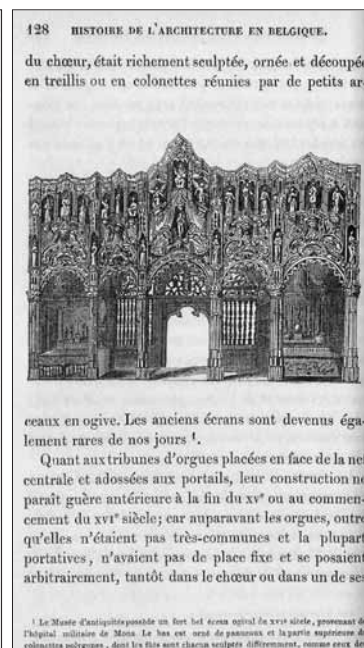
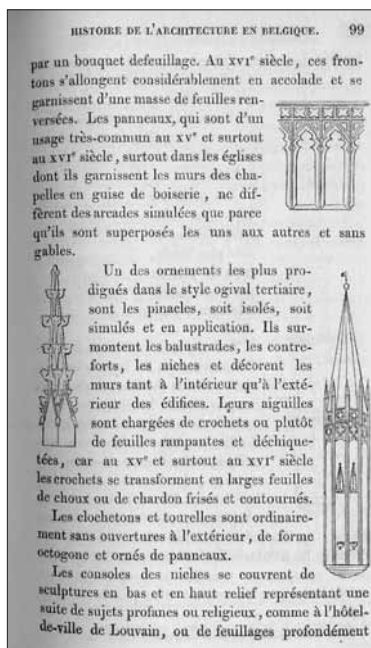
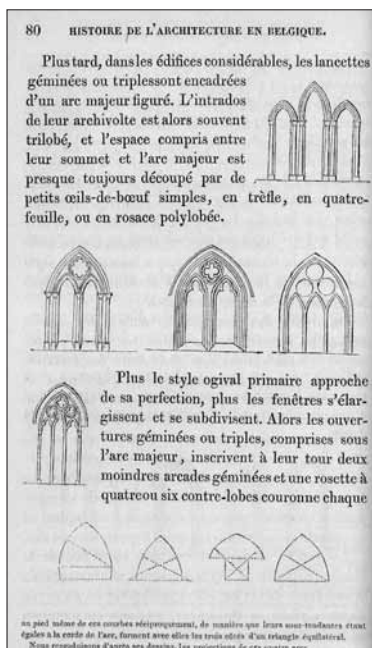


▲ Figure 19. 'House of the Biscayens' and 'Loge des Bourgeois' in Bruges in Schayes, 2nd edition, part II, p. between 496 and 497, wood-engraving.



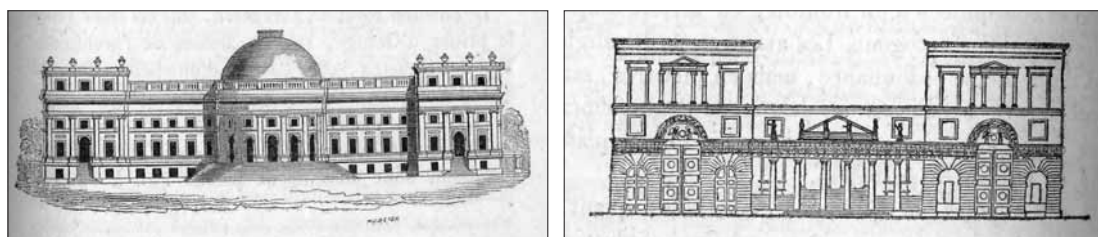


▲ Figure 20-21. Townhall in Mechelen (drawing by M. Bowens); Hoogstraeten House (engraved by A. Mercier) in Schayes, 2nd edition, part II, p. 259 and p. 331.

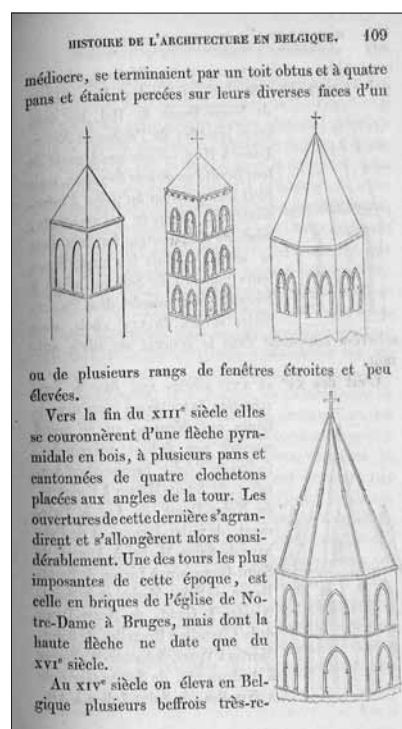


▲ Figure 22-23-24. Lancettes; frontons, pinacles; jube in the church of Diksmuide, in Schayes, 2nd edition, part II, p. 80, 99 and 128.

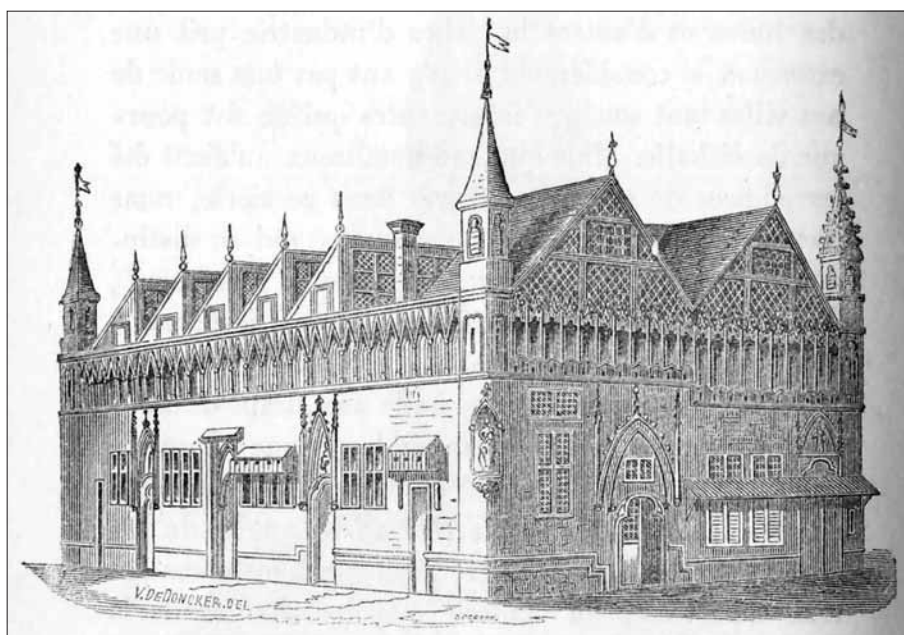
with (and some without) shading in the beaux-arts tradition (Figure 25-26); beautifully elaborate ornamental details, as well as extreme simplifications (Figure 27-28) that are consistent with a rationalist approach yet different to reconcile with the picturesque full-page images.



▲ Figure 25-26. Chateau of Laeken (engraved by A. Mercier) and the Piat-Lefèvre old house, carpet factory in Tournai city in Schayes, 2nd edition, part II, p. 525 and 610.



▲ Figure 27-28. Baptismal font in the church of Zillebeke (B); roofing in the religious architecture of the Gothic style in Schayes, 2nd edition, part I, p. 271 and part II, p. 109.

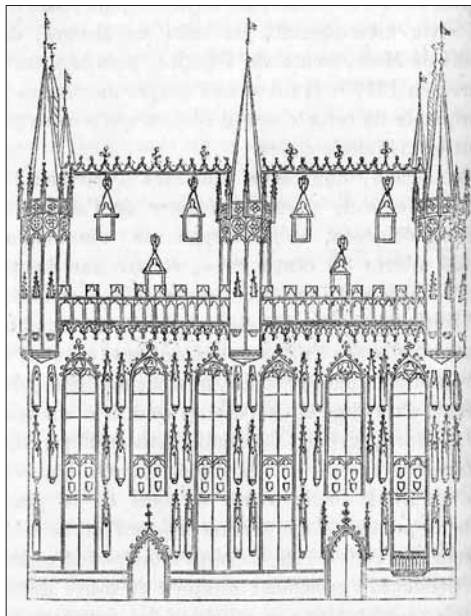
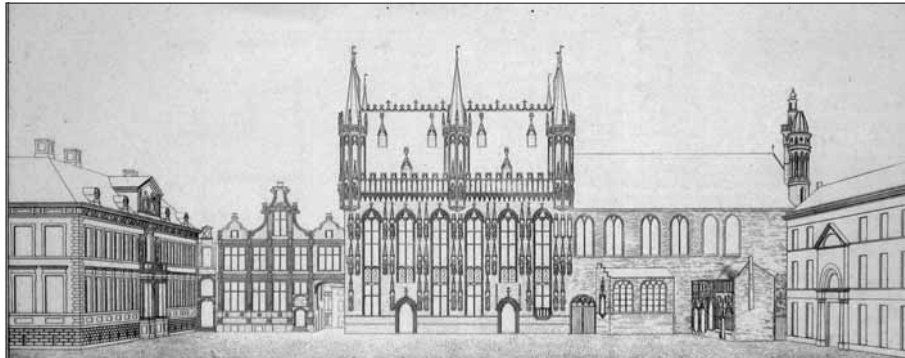


▲ Figure 29-30. Leuven, University Hall, in Gramaye, Joannes Baptista: *Antiquitates illustrissimi ducatus Brabantiae. Lovanium Brabantiae metropolis*, ex officina Ioannis Momartii, 1610, illustration between p. 76-77. and Schayes, 2nd ed., part II, p. 258, (engraved by V. Dedoncker).



On the whole this yields an impression of a lack of accuracy or consistency. Also, Schayes only sometimes mentions the source of an image; yet when he does, the illustration generally seems to be a poor copy of the original (Figure 29-30 and 31-32). Sometimes he shows a cross section, a plan, or an elevation, but never all three for one building. The informed reader never acquires 'a full picture'.

Could this be the result of certain external factors<sup>28</sup>? If we are to believe in the union of content and form, according to empiricism, what can Schayes' manner of illustration symbolise? What is the architectural iconology of these illustrations? Do they generate a specific association, content, or meaning, e.g., through the picturesque images? If so, can we discover it?



▲ ◀ Figure 31-32. Bruges, Town Hall, in Rudd, Johannes Bruno: *Collection de plans, coupes, élévations, voutes, plafonds, etc., des principaux monumens d'architecture et de sculpture de la ville de Bruges*: chez Bogaert-Dumortier, 1825? – part 3, ill. 15. and Schayes, 2nd ed., part. II, p. 266.

## Architectural history and its illustrations

Current historiography distinguishes two traditions in Belgian historical research from the first half of the nineteenth century, each with its own characteristic imagery. The first is interpreted history, which condenses data and then narrates or rewrites them in the form of a romantic rhetoric. In this tradition the illustrations are re-presentations or portrayals, reconstructions of the past or interpretations of data from the past. The second tradition is so-called antiquarian research, which simply collects data. Its illustrations are presentations or reproductions of found information on past times.<sup>29</sup> It is clear that the illustration material of Schayes' *Histoire de l'Architecture* shows an overlapping – a fusing – of both traditions. The question is: what is the reason for this fusion? What is the uniting factor between the rational approach apparent in Schayes' method and the many illustrations that are done in a suggestive, picturesque style and that re-present buildings in an interpreted or imaginary landscape that includes hu-



▲ Figure 33. Marche-les-Dames, river Meuse, drawing by Ghemar, engraving by Lacoste Jeune, in Henri Guillaume Moke, Victor Joly and Eugène Gens, *La Belgique Monumentale, Historique et Pittoresque, Panthéon national* 5-6, Bruxelles: Jamar-Hen, 1844, volume I, p. 288.

mans and dogs? Yves Schoonjans, in his recent book on eclecticism in nineteenth-century architecture, shows that not only is it possible but that it was a typical sign of the times: in the approach to architecture the expressive, telling character of a building was founded upon and enhanced by a historiographic-scientific approach.<sup>30</sup> One example he mentions is the two-part work *La Belgique Monumentale, Historique et Pittoresque* of 1844 (Picture 33).<sup>31</sup> Though this book is larger in size and has luxurious lithographs in colour, it is an apt reference regarding Schayes, both for its year of publication and because it was published at the same Brussels publishing house, Jamar, in the patriotic-historical<sup>32</sup> series *Panthéon National* (1840-1845).

### Nous voulons des vignettes...

We want vignettes, the bookseller wants vignettes and the public want them too,<sup>33</sup> stated Michel Melot in 1834 in his clarification on the necessity of illustrations in the art of printing from the beginning of the nineteenth century. What exactly are these books with vignettes? The term dates back to the first publication of a book illustrated with wood engraving. These books had one or more illustrations outside the text. The concept originated in the eighteenth-century practice of presenting a book with the author's portrait placed as a frontispiece opposite the title page. This developed to the point where, in some cases, a publication's text was of little importance, the protagonists being the myriad illustrations between the text. Such a case was called a *musée d'images*.<sup>34</sup>

In the period, various graphic techniques were invented, developed, and adapted to facilitate and cheapen the process of book illustration. This was the time just before the invention and (rather slow) spread of photography.<sup>35</sup> In Belgium, in the context of book printing, only a few printmaking methods known in Europe were applied. In particular these included wood engraving, which will be our main focus, and, somewhat later, lithography and chromolithography. In contrast to France, England, and Germany, book illustration in Belgium did not immediately develop into a separate discipline. Painters or draughtsmen were contacted to design the illustrations. They provided drafts for an engraver or, in certain cases, made the etchings on copper. Most illustrators made names for themselves only when a new technique, such as lithography, gained ground.<sup>36</sup>

The wood engraving, like the woodcut, belongs to the family of printmaking techniques called xylography or relief printing. In these techniques the areas to be inked are on the original surface of the printing plate or block (the so-called matrix), with the parts to appear blank having been cut away or removed. The act of drawing lines is replaced by emptying the spaces in between them, mak-

ing the image stand out in relief. Although the wood engraving is derived from the ancient technique of the woodcut, its appearance is quite different. Rather than the side of a wood block being cut with a knife, the end of the block is engraved with a *graver* or *burin*, a steel chisel with a V-shaped tip.<sup>37</sup> The dense grain of the end-wood allows for much finer lines to be cut, and at much smaller intervals, resulting in a 'tonal rather than a line drawing' that affords much greater detail and richer shading than a woodcut. Perfecting of the woodcut started in the 1870s. The new technique is usually linked to the name of Thomas Bewick (1753-1828)<sup>38</sup> from Newcastle upon Tyne and was introduced in France in 1817. The wood engraver endeavoured to maximize tonal effect, including the realistic or naturalistic renditions of light, texture, and atmosphere. Besides this, the use of hard end-grain rather than softer side-grain allowed for printing of far more copies.<sup>39</sup> In the Belgian context this evolution did not deliver especially interesting topographic results. Publishers applied wood engravings only to pages separate from the text, as their ambitions were limited to delivering realistic representations *en masse*. The advent of photography would put an abrupt end to these aspirations.<sup>40</sup>

The invention of the wood engraving well-suited the nineteenth-century commercial printing business. As mentioned, its greatest advantage was that it allowed printing of text and illustration simultaneously on one page. The engraving blocks were cut to size so that the typographic elements fit together into a page layout.<sup>41</sup> This was an enormous commercial advantage when, for the first time, the reading and book-buying public became an economic factor.<sup>42</sup> As wood engraving remained a comparatively labour intensive technique, its application in illustrated book printing was short lived; it was soon replaced by lithography.<sup>43</sup>

The spread of wood engraving can be situated after 1830, along with the expansion of newspaper and educational publishing and such technical innovations as the steam-powered press. No wood engraving was produced in Belgium before 1833, and afterwards, until the mid-nineteenth century, French developments in the field were closely followed. In the 1840s wood engraving became the most important book illustrating technique, especially for reading books. For picture books, lithography was most commonly used. The 'Golden Age' of integrated wood-engraving was the first half of the 1840s. In the second half of the 1840s the preference changed to large, lavishly worked-out illustrations with the so-called vignettes separate from the text. The most common way in Belgium of illustrating a romantic novel was a combination of one or several plates outside the text, a number of smaller vignettes in the text, and stereotype stencil ornaments. In Schayes' work ornamented initials, for instance, are absent, yet the combination of integrated, simpler illustrations with elaborate full-page vignettes was at the time a widespread phenomenon. The mid-nineteenth-century situa-



tion in Belgium is characterised by the gradual disappearance of this approach, the loss of typographic balance, and the weakening of the romantic spirit. The public seemed to lack the taste for these stylish products, despite the good intentions and tenacious efforts instigated from the top. This rapid decline is typical for Belgium; it did not occur in France or England. In the years following 1830, the first Belgian publications with wood engravings were in the earlier mentioned overprints. These were prints in which the illustrations were either copied in wood engravings from another technique or made at low cost. These publications can be considered as a learning period for the new technique. Starting from 1838 the quality of illustrations improves noticeably and original Belgian works are published. The illustrations were often the work of pupils of the Brussels *Ecole royale de gravure*.<sup>44</sup>

The *Ecole royale de gravure* was founded in Brussels in 1836<sup>45</sup> with the express purpose of reviving Belgian's glorious history of engraving, which dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although it had been decades since copper engraving had been practiced, the new state suddenly declared it a national art form.<sup>46</sup> This fit within a general strategy. The retrospective view of the national past was the framework upon which contemporary expressions were to be based in order to create national identity. In the context of historiography, old glory was retraced, studied, and promoted as the source of inspiration.<sup>47</sup> In the same period industrial, social, and economical developments brought about great change in the arts (and crafts), while Romanticism professed a new appreciation of natural beauty, rejecting artificiality. In terms of books and illustrations, this led to a decrease of luxury volumes such as Goetghebuer's *Choix des monumens* (the topic of Dirk Van de Vijver's previous contribution, published some twenty years earlier) and other such works about architectural splendours and similar topics. Instead, books were conceived and made to be read or looked at rather than to be admired. The corresponding reduction in book size presented a special challenge to the typographer.<sup>48</sup>

The subsidised school of engraving, however, did not prove viable in these conditions. The course was partially cancelled in 1848, mainly because of lack of commissions. The same course had been taught at the *Koninklijke Academie van Antwerpen* since 1819, but the attempts in both cases did more to promote and develop the new technique of wood engraving than to revive an old tradition. After 1848 the wood engraving, now an established technique, went on to replace copper engraving, thereby losing its original character as a means of text illustration. Wood engraving was now expected to express luxury, a task that had been the monopoly of intaglio techniques, such as copper engraving.<sup>49</sup> Etching, another new (intaglio) technique, which had reached climactic popularity in France and England during the time, was rarely applied in Belgium. Thus, any demand that would have justified establishing a comprehensive school for engraving did not arise.<sup>50</sup>

As books were printed in ever greater quantities and at lower prices, the demands of popularity had to be met by the wood engraving. This explains why there were many repetitions and why many engravings, including some in Schayes' work, often seemed template-like in appearance.

The wood engraving is the typographic illustration technique *par excellence*. A wood engraving placed outside the text gives rise to criticism of form and style. Only in the decade between 1838 and 1848 did Belgian romantic illustrated books attain a satisfying balance between illustration and text. Afterwards, a well-balanced illustrated work from Belgium is a rarity.

Although the wood engraving is most productive as an in-text illustration, it is sometimes given an independent position outside the text, on a separate page, as seen in the full-page illustrations in Schayes. This enlargement attracts greater attention to detail, yet at this level the technique is not particularly effective, and less so than with an intaglio technique. Van der Marck, in his masterful work *The Romantic Book illustration in Belgium*, mentions a "crossing of limits" and "functional shift" in describing the moment when the wood engraving begins fulfilling its reproductive task with emphasis on realism. Van der Marck blames this "dissolution of the typographic union" on a number of factors, including the excessive demand for illustrated literature and literature of national history. This is precisely the context in which the publisher of *L'histoire de l'Architecture*, Jamar, can be situated. Later, when the quality of illustrated printing improves again, it would be due to the success and circulation of lithography and, to a lesser extent, steel engraving.<sup>51</sup>

Nationalism and patriotism were the central themes of the salons organised after 1830. Besides paintings these salons presented illustrated scientific and archival studies over history and art.<sup>52</sup> The illustrators of these works were in some cases no less renowned than their painter colleagues who had likewise put their work at the service of the new national ideals (e.g., the lithographer Jean-Baptiste Madou).<sup>53</sup> The two most important publishing and printing houses in this respect were Jamar in Brussels and Buschmann in Antwerp. Both were active promoters of national culture, and made wood engraving a prominent feature of their output. They also knew each other and established joint publications, including *L'histoire de l'Architecture*.<sup>54</sup> This shows the names of Jamar's usual engravers among the illustration signatures. In general the properties of their publications on national topics match Schayes' book: small format, balanced layout, a title-page vignette, and smaller in-text vignettes.<sup>55</sup>

Alexandre Jamar (1821-1888) joined his brother's publishing house probably in 1835 or 1836 and took over in 1840. He gradually changed the business policy, which had been based, as was customary, on the overprint of French books. His production, which can be considered of medium quantity, stands out because of

his specialisation<sup>56</sup> on romantic-patriotic and vulgarising series of illustrated books.<sup>57</sup> For instance, in 1840 he set up the risky series *Panthéon National* (of which the second part was the above mentioned *La Belgique monumentale, historique et pittoresque*) with the intention of helping to cultivate the national past and to intensify national consciousness. The series became a great success. From 1846 onwards Jamar began a similar series, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, an Encyclopaedia<sup>58</sup> of sorts over Belgian history, religion, science, and fine arts. It was in this series that *L'Histoire* by Schayes was published. The volumes all had the same small (but not too small), practical, and affordable format, and all were illustrated. An interesting point is that the *Bibliothèque Nationale* enjoyed an allowance from the Department of Education. This allowance was allocated within the project of replacing the vast quantity of French books with Belgian ones as part of the national consciousness enhancement program.<sup>59</sup> As Thomas Decreus explains in his master thesis, Jamar's authors belonged to the world of the *Académie royale*, such as Schayes and his mentor Ferdinand de Reiffenberg (1795-1850), and the Brussels University. The Academy served the ambitions of the new nation<sup>60</sup> and the Brussels University was the bastion of liberal academics and intellectuals. The Jamar publishing house was the location in Brussels where liberal intellectuals of the new state worked to distribute their knowledge towards the whole of society.<sup>61</sup> It was therefore obvious that their books should be above all attractive, which meant affordable and illustrated.

Jamar succeeded in engaging the best illustrators and engravers within the field of wood-engraving, especially the most important ones, including the brothers H. and W. Brown, Lesestre, E. Vermorcken, A. Pannemaker, and J. Hemeleer. These were professionals who also worked for Buschmann in Antwerp. Jamar possessed a whole range of designs that were frequently reused, and so it is unsurprising to find the same routine in the books by Schayes.<sup>62</sup> Jamar's books were quite successful, despite their unequal quality, due to their abundant illustrations in wood engraving. The decline of the illustrated book in Belgium from 1850 is also noticeable in his publications. In 1859 the publishing house ceased its activities.<sup>63</sup>

## Conclusion

Through this explanation we have attempted to show that the brief history of the mid-nineteenth-century art of illustrated printing in Belgium was shaped by a considerable and complex set of influences, interactions, and cross-pollinations. These conditions characterise the architectural historical publications of the period. The vital issue of representation within the context of establishing and consolidating a new national identity was paralleled by developments, ambitions,

and demands in the world of science and the art of printing. The two types of representation, the analytical and the synthetic, although usually considered as conflicting, were in practice often simultaneously applied. In the case of an architectural historical publication, one perceives it as the overlapping of a book of literature and a book of science. This overlapping, or fusion, rather than remaining an exception became a necessity.

The origin of the cross-pollination between the romantically illustrated novel and the scientific study that used rationally selected illustration material lies to a large extent with the publishing houses that decided on the character of their books.<sup>64</sup> Our central example was the first complete work on the history of Belgian architecture. Antoine Schayes' study is the result of the rational scientific objective to produce a survey of twenty-one centuries of architecture in seven periods, within the political-geographical boundaries of a newly established nation-state. The work was to appear in a series on national topics subsidised by the state. This was at a moment in history when it was nearly impossible to sell books without illustrations and when, moreover, the know-how, the budget, and the market were insufficient to justify printing architecture books with traditional and expensive copper engravings. This was the first time in the history of the art of printing that publishing and printing houses had to become well-oiled, profit-making companies. In these conditions, the relation between text and image was not only an internal question of content but, more importantly, a question related to the general situation of the printed illustration business.<sup>65</sup> The mark of eclecticism that this publication of Jamar bears did not negatively influence the reception of Schayes' work, which fitted in its educational role. On the contrary, and as evidences the outstanding merit of its content, the publication was considered a valuable reference work until after World War I. Taking into account the didactic objectives of the series *Bibliothèque nationale*, Schayes' work can be seen as a high-quality travel guide that could be carried in a pocket while visiting town, an ever more frequent leisure activity in the nineteenth century. That Schayes fully agreed with the publication's concept can be deduced from his introductory text, in which he mentions the diversity of illustrations and guarantees their exactness despite the downscaling, thereby touching upon the book's most sensitive issue. Schayes' introductory texts states: 'The plates that embellish this book have been executed on a reduced scale, but of which we guarantee the exactitude, partly after old and modern engravings and lithographic prints, and partly after original drawings, for most of which we are obliged to several artists and archaeologists [...]'<sup>66</sup> This indicates that Schayes was aware of the shift in illustration techniques for architectural historical publications and that he endorsed these techniques in his own work.



## Notes

1. Duplessis, Georges: "Les Graveurs sur bois contemporains", *L'Artiste*, 1857. Indirect source in Melot, Michel: "Le texte et l'image", in *Histoire de l'édition Française*, Henri-Jean Martin, (edit.), Paris, 1982-1986, part III. 1985, p. 287.
2. Melot, Michel: *The Art of Illustration*, Geneva: Skira, 1984, p. 12; Melot, 1985, p. 287-288.
3. About the plates of the Encyclopaedias see more in Melot, 1984, p. 126-128; Bouvier, Béatrice: *L'édition d'architecture à Paris au 19e siècle: les maisons Bance et Morel et la presse architecturale, Histoire et civilisation du livre*, 27, Genève: Droz, 2004, p. 64, 65, 68, 72, 74-76, 79-112.
4. Adhémar, Jean and Jean-Pierre Seguin, *Le Livre romantique*, Paris: Credit Lyonnais, 1968, p. 7-8, 35, 38; Smith Allen, James: 'Le commerce du livre romantique à Paris 1820-1843', *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 26, 1980, p. 69-93, Melot, 1984, p. 13, 129; Melot, 1985, p. 295; Barbier, Frédéric: *L'empire du livre: le livre imprimé et la construction de l'Allemagne contemporaine (1815-1914)*, Paris: CERF, 1995, p. 313.
5. On Schayes' life and work with many references see Ellen Van Impe, "A national architectural history in word and image. A.G.B. Schayes and the *Histoire de l'architecture en Belgique* (1849-52)", *13th Conference of the International Confederation of Architectural Museums*, Athens, June 2006, (forthcoming 2008).
6. The publications are undated. For the years of publication see Stynen, Herman: *De onvoltooid verleden tijd. Een geschiedenis van de monumenten- en landschapszorg in België 1835-1940*, Brussels: Stichting Vlaams Erfgoed, 1998, p. 42 footnote 145.
7. See on Buschmann Van Laeken, Viviane: *J.E. Buschmann (1814-1853), de stichter van de naar hem genoemde Antwerpse drukkerij-uitgeverij*, unpublished MA thesis, KULeuven, 1981, on illustrations especially p. 60-72.
8. On Brussels see Simons, Ludo: *Geschiedenis van de uitgeverij in Vlaanderen. De negentiende eeuw*, Tiel: Lannoo, 1984-1987, p. 88-100.
9. Smith, 1980, p. 70, 78; Barbier, 1995, p. 17; Melot, Michel: *Livre*, Paris: Cail neuf éditions, 2006, p. 152-153.
10. Barbier, 1995, p. II and 15.
11. The printing house J.-E. Buschmann (1814-1853) in Antwerp, founded in 1842, played a substantial part in the nineteenth-century art of printing. Persoons, Guido, Greet Bedeer and Jean F. Buyck: *Schone kunsten in Antwerpen: de koninklijke vereniging tot aanmoediging der schone kunsten te Antwerpen, sinds 1788*, Antwerp: Nationaal Hoger Instituut en Koninklijke academie voor schone kunsten Antwerpen, 1976, p. 8.
12. Rogiers, Jan: "La Belgique industrielle: les livres et ses auteurs", in Van der Hert, Bart, Michel Oris and Jan Roegiers, *La Belgique industrielle en 1850: deux cents images d'un monde nouveau*, Deurne: MIM, 1995, p. 19.
13. On the overprint see more in Dopp, Herman: *La contrefaçon des livres français en Belgique 1815-1852*, in *Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philologie*, 2nd series, 26, Leuven, 1932; Culot, J.: *Préfaçons et contrefaçons belges (1816-1854): catalogue enrichi d'une préface et de notes par J. Culot*, Brussels, 1937; Charlier, Gustave: *Le mouvement romantique 1815-1850*, part II, Brussels: Palais des académies, 1959, p. 162-192; *Les presses grises: la contrefaçon du livre (XVIe-XIXe siècles)*, Moureau, François (red.), Paris: Aux amateurs de livres, 1988. and Lambert, Marijke: *Les stratégies manipulatrices de la contrefaçon belge (1815-1854)*, unpublished MA thesis, KULeuven, 2003; Decreus, Thomas: *Het verleden heruitgegeven. Geschiedenis van de uitgeverij Jamar*, unpublished MA thesis, KULeuven, 2006, p. 13.
14. For instance with London: in 1836 the *Société Typographique Belge d'Adolph Wahlen & Cie* is established, among its members the publishers Tarlier and Dumont, who in 1837 forge an alliance with the house of *Dulau & Comp.* in London. Van der Marck, Jan Henri Marie: *Romantische boekillustratie in België: van de Voyage pittoresque au Royaume des Pays-Bas (1822) tot La légende et les aventures héroïques, joyeuses et glorieuses d'Ulenspiegel et de Lamme Goedzak au pays de Flandres et ailleurs (1869)*, Roermond: Romen, 1956, p. 33-39, 43.
15. Dopp, 1932, p. 178-182; Charlier, 1959, part II, p. 168-173 and 181-187, Van der Marck, 1956, p. 33-39, 41, 43.
16. Decreus, 2006, p. 18. Where the source is: Liebrecht, *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, p. 20.

17. Van der Marck, 1956, p. 117; Godfroid, François: *Nouveau panorama de la contrefaçon belge*, extract from *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Langue et de Littérature Françaises*, Volume 64, Brussels: Académie royale de langue et de littérature françaises, 1987, p. 20 a.a.
18. Schayes was a member. Stynen, 1998, p. 43.
19. Dopp, 1932, p. 160-163; Van der Marck, 1956, p. 133-134, 222; Rogiers, 1995, p. 22.
20. Decreus, 2006, p. 31. Indirect source: Thonissen, Jean-Joseph: *Le socialisme et ses promesses*, Brussels: Jamar, 1849, p. 111 e.v.
21. Godfroid, François: *Aspects inconnus et méconnus de la contrefaçon en Belgique*, Brussels: Académie royale de langue et de littérature françaises 1998, p. 10.
22. Van Impe, 2006 (2008).
23. Stynen, 1998, p. 41.
24. Van Impe, 2006, (2008), Verpoest, Luc: "Neogotische architectuur en monumentenzorg in België en Nederland", in J.A. *Alberdingk Thijm 1820-1889: erflater van de negentiende eeuw*, Geurts, P.A.M. and A.E.M. Janssen (reds.), Baarn: Arbor, 1992, p. 178.
25. Adhémar, Jean, Madeleine Barbin and Michel Melot: *La gravure*, Paris: PUF, 1972, p. 92.
26. The use of wood engraving for the illustrations of books with scientific content was by no means exceptional. Melot, 1984, p. 135; Barbier, 1995, p. 315.
27. This should not surprise: architectural drawings are difficult to understand for a non-professional audience, while perspective drawings are quite accessible. See also Saboya, Marc: 'Remarques préliminaires à une étude du travail sur l'image dans la presse architecturale du XIXe siècle' in *Les périodiques d'architecture XVIIIe-XXe siècle. Recherche d'une méthode critique d'analyse*, Leniaud, Jean-Michel and Béatrice Bouvier (reds.), Paris: Ecole des chartes, 2001, p. 77-78; Bouvier, 2004, p. 84, 104.
28. Potts, Alex: *Flesh and the ideal: Winckelmann and the origins of art history*, New Haven (Conn.): Yale university, 1994, p. 101.
29. Verschaffel, Tom: *Beeld en geschiedenis: het Belgische en Vlaamse verleden in de romantische boekillustraties*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1987, p. 21-29; Tollebeek, Jo: "Geschiedenis en oudheidkunde in de negentiende eeuw. De Messenger des sciences historiques 1823-1896", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis des Nederlanden*, 113, 1998, p. 35; Blaas, P.B.M.: "Het romantische verhaal. Over de vormgeving van het vaderland", *De palimpsest: geschiedschrijving in de Nederlanden, 1500-2000*, Tollebeek, Jo, Tom Verschaffel and Leonard H.M. Weseels (reds), Hilversum: Verloren, 2002, p. 143-157.  
See also the history of the emergence of lithographies *Physionomie de la société en Europe depuis 1400 jusqu'à nos jours* by Madou, Brussels, A. De Wasme-Pletinckx, between 1835 and 1841 in Walch, Nicole and Jean-Baptiste Madou, *J.-B. Madou, lithograaf*, Brussels: Brussel Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1977, p. XII-XIII.
30. This elicits less wonder when one knows that industrial landscapes were also represented according to the rules of the picturesque tradition. Pil, Lut: "La Belgique industrielle et la tradition du paysage pittoresque" and Kupper, Jean-Louis: "De Louis Guichardin à La Belgique industrielle" in Van der Herten, 1995, p. 23-26.
31. Schoonjans, Yves: *Architectuur & Vooruitgang De cultuur van het eclecticisme in de 19e eeuw*, Gent: A and S books, 2007, p. 159 en p. 234 footnote 95.
32. Decreus, 2006, p. 70.
33. Thierry, Édouard: *Sous les rideaux*, preface of his 'evening tales', 1834. in Melot, 1984, p. 132 and Melot, 1985, p. 295. See also Adhémar and Seguin, 1968, p. 49-50.
34. Van der Marck, 1956, p. 44, 56, 138; Adhémar and Seguin, 1968, p. 51, 53.
35. Melot, 1985, p. 295.
36. Including J.B. Madou, Ch. Baugniet, F. Stroobant, L. Ghemar, J. Schubert, E. Manche or Ch. Billoin in Van der Marck, 1956, p. 59. See also, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie en Belgique des origines à nos jours. Musée du livre [Bruxelles]* – Brussels, 6 parts, part 6, 1924-1934, p. 41.
37. Griffiths, Anthony: *Prints and Printmaking. An introduction to the History and Techniques*, Berkley (Calif): University of California press, 2nd rev. edit., 1996, p. 13; Clayton, Timothy: *The English print, 1688-1802*, Paul Mellon centre for studies in British art, XIV, New Haven (Conn.): Yale university, 1997, p. 22.
38. See many publications on Bewick. Just two examples: *Bewick studies: essays in celebration of the 250th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Bewick 1753-1828*, Gardner-Medwin, David

- (red.), London: British library, 2003; Uglow, Jenny: *Nature's engraver*, Farra: Straus and Giroux, 2006.
39. Van der Marck, 1956, p. 46, 220; Griffiths, 1996, p. 23; Clayton, 1997, p. 23.
40. Van der Marck, 1956, p. 218-219, 223-224.
41. Clayton, 1997, p. 23.
42. Slythe, R. Margaret: *The art of illustration, 1750-1900*, London: The Library Association, 1970, p. 24; Barbier, 1995, p. 18-20.
43. Clayton, 1997, p. 24.
44. Van der Marck, 1956, p. 24, 54, 57, 114-115, 119, 140-141, 143-145, 217-218.
45. See more in D'Hondt, Pieter: *L'académie royale des beaux-arts et école des arts décoratifs de Bruxelles*, Brussels: Lebègue, 1900; and in *Académie: Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts de Bruxelles: 275 ans d'enseignement*, Brussels: Crédit communal de Belgique, 1987, p. 21-22, 29-36.
46. Van der Marck, 1956, p. 174, 218-219, 223-224.
47. Tollebeek, 1998, p. 38-40.
48. Adhémar and Seguin, 1968, p. 54; Slythe, 1970, p. 11; Bouvier, 2004, p. 103.
49. Van der Marck, 1956, p. 174, 218-219, 223-224.
50. Van der Marck, 1956, p. 109-110, 112, 114, 163, 171, 222, 158-159, 161-163. In the wake of the painter Henri Leys (1815-1869) there emerges in Antwerp from 1839-40 a new but short-lived interest in etching.
51. Van der Marck, 1956, p. 55, 177, 218-219, 223-224.
52. Van der Marck, 1956, p. 135.
53. About the role of publishing houses in the society see also Barbier, 1995, p. 18. On the reputation and funeral of Madou (1796-1877) see Walch and Madou, 1977, p. VII.
54. Close collaboration between publishing houses and printing houses was common practice in the nineteenth century. See also *Le livre d'architecture, XVe-XXe siècle: édition, représentations et bibliothèques*, Leniaud, Jean-Michel and Béatrice Bouvier (reds), Etudes et rencontres de l'Ecole des Chartes, 11, Paris: Ecole des chartes, 2002, p. 56, 68.
55. Van der Marck, 1956, p. 146.
56. The specialisation of publishing houses was typical phenomenon during the nineteenth-century. See more about this topic in Leniaud and Bouvier, 2002, p. 67, 327; Bouvier, 2004, p. 13-14.
57. Verschaffel, 1987, p. 43.
58. Ambitious publishers strived to have an encyclopaedia that bore their name, because it proved their engagement in the divulgence of culture. More on this policy in the world of (French) publishing, in relation to the encyclopaedia in general and more specifically with architecture, in Bouvier, 2004, p. 63-68.
59. Dopp, 1932, p. 184-189; Van der Marck, 1956, 146.
60. Lavalleye, Jacques: *L'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, 1772-1972: esquisse historique*, Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1973, especially p. 57-63.
61. Decreus, 2006, p. 64-78.
62. For an exhaustive overview of the illustrators and the series they worked on, see, Verschaffel, 1987, p. 19 and Van der Marck, 1956, p. 77 a.f.
63. Van der Marck, 1956, p. 149-152, 178.
64. On the power of publishers see also Adhémar and Seguin, 1968, p. 109 onwards.
65. "L'illustration suit donc le goût" one reads in the conclusions of Saboya's article 2001, p. 79.
66. 'Les planches nombreuses qui ornent ce livre ont été exécutées sur une échelle réduite, mais dont nous garantissons l'exactitude, en partie d'après des gravures anciennes et modernes et des lithographies, et en partie d'après des dessins originaux que nous devons la plupart à l'obligeance de plusieurs artistes et archéologues [...]' A.G.B. Schayes, s.d., vol. 1, p. IV.